PREFACE

121 IN COLLECTING the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyze as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organization at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of coöperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

PREFACE

WHEN I was preparing my book *The Origin and Development* 000 *of the Moral Ideas* I thought that it might be useful for me to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. As the University of Helsingfors had granted me a very handsome travelling scholarship, [122] which enabled me to stay abroad for years, I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language. Even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or belief in question, or to let his attention slacken for a moment, or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle all direct translation. Morocco offered the double advantage of being little known and within easy reach of Europe. I went there time after time; and in the [114] course of twenty-one journeys undertaken in the period between 1898 and 1926 I spent there altogether seven years.

I made it a point to visit towns and tribes in different 114 parts of the country, and to employ as teachers natives of other tribes to which I could not go myself. Thus I spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time among the mountains of Andjra, and several weeks among the Jbâla of Jbel Ḥbīb and the Sáḥel; many months in the Faḥṣ and the Ġarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bûʻâzîz in Dukkâla, besides which I had daily intercourse with people of this tribe during my five months' stay in

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

Mazagan; a shorter time among the Beni Ăḥsen and the Mnáṣăra; three months among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas range; and many months in Marráksh and Mogador, where I had Shlöḥ as my teachers. During my stay in Fez and Ṣĕfru and the excursions I made from the latter place to the surrounding tribe of the Aiṭ Yúsi, I had an opportunity to study the Berbers belonging to the group of the Brâber; and at Tangier and Tetuan I came in very frequent contact with Berbers from the Rīf.

In those days when I made nearly all my journeys in the interior of the country there were no roads, and very many districts were inaccessible to travellers. Even for my sojourn in Andjra, which was then in a disturbed state, the Russian legation required of me a written statement to the effect that I went there entirely at my own risk. Yet the treatment I received there, as well as among other mountaineers and peasants not generally noted for friendliness towards Europeans, was invariably of the kindliest nature. For this I have to thank my Moorish friend Shereef 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco and given me invaluable assistance. I am happy to say that the President of the Republic of Finland has been pleased to confer on him knighthood of the order of "Finlands Vita Ros" as a reward for the services he has rendered me.

From a sociological point of view Morocco is much better known now than it was at the time when I commenced my researches. This is chiefly due to numerous important publications which have appeared in French during the last quarter of a century, though Mr. Budgett Meakin's books also deserve recognition. The literary activity of La Mission scientifique du Maroc, Le Comité d'Études berbères de Rabat, l'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat, and L'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, has been imposing; and valuable works have, in addition, appeared outside the range of their publications. Much attention has been bestowed on the particular subject with which I am dealing in the present book. Various points of it have been ably treated by Messrs. Doutté, Laoust, Henri Basset, and others; and if the object of my book

had been to give a comprehensive account of all that is 114
known about the popular religion and magic of Morocco, their names would certainly have appeared more frequently in its pages. But its aim is less ambitious, being chiefly restricted to a presentation and discussion of the results of my own researches among the natives.

A considerable portion of these results have been previously published in the following essays and articles :— 113
" The Nature of the Arab *Ǧinn*, illustrated by the present Beliefs of the People of Morocco ", in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1900) ; " The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs ", *ibid.* vol. xxxiv. (1904) ; " Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco ", in *Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome, 1899*, vol. iii. pt. i. (Florence, 1902) ; " Midsummer Customs in Morocco ", in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. (1905) ; " The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco ", *ibid.* vol. xxii. (1911) ; " *L-ʿâr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco ", in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907) ; *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps - Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. 911–12, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1913) ; *The Moorish onception of Holiness* (*Barakà*) (the same series, vol. lviii., 915–16, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1916) ; *The Belief in pirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, ol. i. No. 1 ; Åbo, 1920). The facts and most of the heories in these publications have, more or less revised, een incorporated in the present work, but a large number f facts have been added, and the subjects concerned have lso in other respects been treated more fully. Moreover, nany new subjects, not previously dealt with by me, have een introduced ; so that at least one half of the work may e said to be completely new. Other results of my researches, ot embodied in this book, are found in a purely linguistical ssay, *Nomina im status absolutus und status annexus in er südmarokkanischen Berbersprache* (*Öfversigt af Finska etenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. lvi. 1913–14, sec.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114
128 I must express my very sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, first of all, to Sra. Da. Agustina Moro de Blanco, the widow of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, who graciously allowed me to consult her late husband's private papers dealing with the Berbers of the Rif, in Madrid during February-March 1960. I must also express equal thanks to her son, Dr. D. Agustin Blanco Moro, with whom I initially corresponded in 1958 regarding his father's Rifian materials, and who kindly provided me with all the biographical data on his father; and to Sr. D. Tomas Garcia Figueras, the former Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan (in what until 1956 was Spanish Morocco), and subsequent mayor of Jérez de la Frontera, who, on hearing of my original interest in Col. Blanco's work, was good enough to put me in contact with his family. And, in this connection, I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Col. Blanco's charming and personable youngest daughter, Srta. Da. Emilia Blanco Moro, who went over the materials with me, and who helped me out when I was unable to read her father's handwriting, during the month I spent in Madrid. Finally, during the second, much later month of April 1970 which I again spent in Madrid, I must express my gratitude to Srta. Da. Concha Bragimo Fernandez, the head of the Africa Section at the National Library, for her assistance in that particular quarter.

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128 I am also indebted both to the Ford Foundation, which sponsored my initial fieldwork in Morocco (1952-1955) and to the American Museum of Natural History, which sponsored my second (1959-1961) and third (1961-

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

● 114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death, had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

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175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

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[113] [1]--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

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> "Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far [127] too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript
in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in
Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized trans-
literations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication,
as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and be-
121 cause of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
128 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and
● 114 house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a
work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave
decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6].
His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or
watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his
ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some
attention in Section II.

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113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, *passim*.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

● 114 As noted in my preliminary study (1958), the only article which has ever been published about Blanco is one by Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa[8]. It is devoted largely to Blanco's achievements during the late 1930s, when he was the regional administrator of the Territory of the Rif, both as an architect of administrative policy and as an architect *per se*, as well as touching briefly upon his artistic abilities. Of basic biographical information, as well as providing any assessment of Blanco as a military ethnologist and as a student of Berber social life, however, it says nothing at all. 121 My 1958 article and this present introduction will attempt to fill in these lacunae; and we begin with Section I, Blanco's biography.

Section I: Biographical Data[9]

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga was born on March 15, 1892, in Orduña, in the north Spanish province of Vizcaya, just west of the Basque country, and about 45 km. south of Bilbao. On August 30, 1910, he entered the Spanish Military Academy in Toledo where, on June 24, 1913, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, joining the 30th Regiment for garrison duty in Burgos. The following year he was sent to Morocco for the first time with the 6th Battalion of Figueras for duty in Larache, and the next two years saw him taking part in military

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(113) [8] --Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa, "Una Teoría de Arquitectura Politica y un Interventor Excepcional: El Coronel Don Emilio Blanco Izaga", in *Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1950-1951*, Tetuan: Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 129-150.

[9] --This section is taken *in extenso* from Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 174-180. I am particularly indebted to Col. Blanco's son, Dr. Don Agustín Blanco Moro, of Madrid, and to Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, of Jérez de la Frontera, who succeeded Blanco as Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan, for supplying me with the essential facts of Blanco's life.

operations against Raisuni in that sector (1914-1916). During this time, on June 24, 1915, he was promoted to first lieutenant.

Back in Spain in 1916, he became an Assistant Professor in the Military Academy in Toledo from which he was graduated three years before, and here, on March 6, 1919, he received his captaincy. He was then for a short time in charge of army recruits' pay in Plasencia, but was soon transferred to the 76th Infantry Regiment and sent to the Central Gymnasium (Escuela Central de Gimnasia) in Toledo, once again, where he remained until March 1927.

On September 28, 1919, he married Agustina Moro Pérez; there were six daughters and one son by this marriage, and as of 1960 Sra. Moro de Blanco was still living in Madrid.

It is of considerable interest to note that during the whole period of 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifian War (1921-1926), Blanco was not sent to the Moroccan front, and that his career as an interventor did not begin until April 10, 1927: Dr. Agustin Blanco informed me that his father was called into tribal administration (Intervenciones) solely on the basis of an unpublished report entitled Colonias Indigenas de Montaña, based presumably on his earlier experiences in Larache. He was first sent, as a captain in the Servicio de Intervenciones, to Punta Pescadores (later called Puerto Capaz, and, since Independence, Jibha) in the tribal area of the Ghmara bloc; from this base, he had to administer the tribes of the Mtiwa, Mistasa, Bni Smih, Bni Grir, Bni Rzin and Bni Khalid, all, save the first two, of the Ghmara group. He then took over the administration of the tribes of the Aith (Bni)

114 Siddat (from the office at Imasinen), Aith (Bni) Hmid, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzur (from the offices at Adukan and Sha'ib), and Ktama (from the office at Badis), all belonging to a somewhat more eastern cluster of tribes known as the Sinhaja Srir. Until July 10, 1927, when Spain had officially accomplished the total pacification of Northern Morocco, his job was the disarmament of practically all the members of the Ghmara and Sinhaja Srir tribal blocs, and to this end, in a region of considerable snowfall in winter, he created a Moroccan military unit of native ski troops, which he commanded until the end of 1929.

On January 1, 1930, Capt. Blanco, for the first time, moved east into the Rif proper by being appointed interventor of the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth (Ar. Bni 'Ammart), succeeding Capt. (by 1958, Col., ret.) Andrés Sanchez Pérez, himself an authority on Rifian history; he was there almost two and a half years, and on May 12, 1932, was transferred to the office at Izimmuren in the tribal territory of the Ibuqquyen (Ar. Buqquya or Baqqiwa). On July 27, 1934, while still a captain, he became the Interventor Comarcal (or regional interventor, generally a job for a major), at Ajdir, of the largest tribe in the Rif and in Northern Morocco, the Aith Waryaghar. On the site, at Ajdir, of 'Abd al-Krim's former headquarters, Blanco designed and built the new intervencion office, of an architectural style strongly reminiscent of the Berbers in Southern Morocco, along the south slopes of the Atlas. On December 30, 1935, he was promoted to a majority, and less than a year later, on October 2, 1936, he became the Interventor Territorial del Rif (the territorial interventor of the Rif, generally a job held by a lieutenant-colonel).

114 It seems that from almost the beginning of his Moroccan experience it was the Rifian region which made the deepest impression on Blanco. Of the five regions into which the Spanish Moroccan Protectorate was divided, the Rif was always Blanco's first choice. He fell in love with its barren peaks and its austere and vendetta-minded inhabitants at once, and for over fifteen years he devoted almost all his time away from administrative duties to as systematic a collection of ethnographic data as he was capable. Although he found it politically expedient to use a native interpreter, the value of his investigations was materially augmented by the fact that he spoke Rifian fairly fluently, though not always correctly, and with a marked Spanish accent. When one considers that Rifian is generally recognized to be [197] the most difficult to learn (probably because it is the least pure) of the three major Berber languages spoken in Morocco, and particularly in view of the fact that the number of Spaniards who speak it is very small indeed, this is no mean achievement.

In 1930, after becoming interventor of the Aith 'Ammarth, Blanco published his first book. This, a pamphlet entitled La Vivienda Rifeña, is an informal treatise on Rifian house types, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches by its author, who not only showed himself a keen observer of Rifian housebuilding techniques, but an artist of no mean talents as well. He had a fine eye for artistic detail, and his sketches pulsate with life.

During his tenure as interventor comarcal at Ajdir, Blanco signed and sent in, on August 27, 1935, a report to the regional administration

114 of the Rif in Villa Sanjurjo (today Alhucemas or El Hoceima: properly,
al-Husaima) on the traditional segmentary tribe-clan-subclan-local
community-lineage organization of the Aith Waryaghar entitled Las
Yemáas Tradicionales de Los Ait Uariaguel - the traditional local
communities, or jma'ath (sing. jma'th) of the tribe in question. In
this report, and in conformity with his well-chosen illustrative
examples of the complex segmentation of the tribe, he recommended
that the Aith Waryaghar be divided, for the purpose of a more effec-
tive administration, into three qaidates, in accordance with the
natural geographical divisions of the Ghis-Nkur watershed. The re-
[128] port in question is translated in extenso in Book I of the text of
this volume: Blanco's recommendation was implemented by the authorities
in Villa Sanjurjo, and his administrative brainchild persisted until
the end of the protectorate. It is, furthermore, more than probable
that his promotion to the rank of major at the end of 1935 was a
direct result of the way in which he had convincingly solved this
knotty administrative problem.

In connection with this same report, Blanco drew up a series of
[126] five excellent tribal maps of the Aith Waryaghar, showing, first, the
traditional territorial-segmentary organization, then two maps showing
the changes - all with a view toward greater centralization - made
successively by 'Abd al-Krim during his tenure, and, finally, two more
128 showing those imposed by the Spanish Protectorate. All are reproduced,
with my corrections where needed, both in this volume and in my own
000 Aith Waryaghar Ethnography and History studies. No student of the

127 No student of the subject could possibly fail to recognize the tremendous value of maps such as these, which the then administration kindly lent me as an aid in my own work.

● 114 Civil war had now already broken out in Spain, and Emilio Blanco, like most of his fellow members of the corps of tribal interventores, was solidly pro-Nationalist. In July 1936, General Franco, after a historic meeting at the Yellow Plain of Ktama, won all the tribal elements of Spanish Morocco to his cause (not the least of which were the Aith Waryaghar who had fought so hard, with 'Abd al-Krim, against Spain only ten years earlier), was ready to march into his homeland as the Commander of the Spanish Nationalist Forces, now augmented with a large Moroccan contingent, one which, indeed, amounted to nearly half of the total Nationalist troops. Hence the then regional interventor of the Rif, Juan Bautista Sanchez Gonzalez, left Villa Sanjurjo to join Franco. Sanchez Gonzalez was succeeded by Major Blanco, and it was largely through Blanco's efforts and experience that the Rifians never once wavered in their allegiance to Franco during the next three years while Spain was wracked with strife. We refer anyone interested
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65 in Blanco's attempts to improve the lot of the Rifians economically, through public works and irrigation projects, and in his architectural projects (schools, mkhazni posts, market tribunals for qaids and qadis, and intervención offices - notably that of the "castle" at l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, on which depended the southeastern Aith Waryaghar highlanders) to Sierra Ochoa's article, cited above.

While Blanco was the regional *interventor* of the Rif, he published, in 1939 and at the close of the Spanish Civil War, his second, and, in my opinion, his best book, *La Ley Rifeña*, vol. II - Part 2: *Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados* (Rifian Law, vol. II - Part 2: The Rifian Qanuns, With Commentary). This second part of a projected two-volume study of Rifian customary law was in turn to have formed one of a series of monographs on Rifian society and culture. (Several of the other such monographs exist in typescript or handwritten form amongst the Blanco family papers, and concern Rifian architecture.) It is the translation of the published second half of the Rifian customary law materials which in itself constitutes the second half of the present monograph. The first half is made up of what was to be the nucleus of the first volume on Rifian law, much of which is embodied in a long paper entitled *Derecho Consuetudinario de los Ait Uariaguel* (Customary Law of the Aith Waryaghar), read in December 1935 at an *interventors'* course in Tetuan. It is to be greatly regretted that Blanco never published this paper, the nucleus of the first half of his treatise on Rifian jural procedure, which appears here for the first time; but it also indicates something of the man's extraordinary modesty, which made him feel that he really did not know enough about the subject to commit it to print. That this belief was totally erroneous is amply proven by Volume II, which consists of photostatic copies of a number of Rifian *qanuns* or Customary Law documents drawn up in Arabic, translations of these into Spanish, plus a general introduction and detailed comments by Blanco on the

114 substance of each qanun. It is the concise, meticulous and exact nature of these comments which betray Blanco's mastery of the intricacies of Rifian Customary Law. And a second, undated report on Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Notes on the Rifian jma'th, the local community), which stems from the same period, and which I discovered in the African Section of the National Library in Madrid, adds further touches of value to Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel and to La Ley Rifeña: for indeed the published book and these various unpublished papers form an organic whole.

In 1940, Blanco wrote another long memorandum (again in the African Section of the Madrid National Library) on the tribe of the Igzinnayen, a nuclear Rifian tribe (bordering the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth on the south), but at the time under French administrative control across the zonal border. By virtue of the original treaty of the protectorate, Spain should have had control of this tribe rather than France, Blanco cogently argues (in the colonialistic idiom of the time), because its mountains, higher than those of the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth, dominate both of them militarily.
[175] What had happened was that France had moved up from the south to occupy the Igzinnayen in 1926, effectively, as a result of the war against 'Abd al-Krim and the pincer movement waged against him by both the European powers concerned; and that this fact was resented by Spain emerges clearly in Blanco's report. However, this same report, entitled La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, although not the result of on-the-spot investigation, is based both on unpublished French documents and on

114 data supplied by informants of that tribe and of the Aith Waryaghar clans just bordering it. Much of the report is concerned with military and administrative information; but the ethnographic and historical data, all to be found in translation in Book I of the text, are clearly put and, for the most part, extremely accurate.

This report was dated April 1940. On June 28 of the same year, Blanco was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. It was about this time that he began one of his major architectural projects in the Rif, the building of the "castle" at Suq l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth (*Zoco de Arbaa de Taurirt*, in Spanish), which was to become the headquarters for the local *interventor* of the Nkur *qaid*-ate of the highland Aith Waryaghar. This castle, in my opinion, was a magnificent piece of quixotry: architecturally in perfect harmony with the mountainous landscape, it was nonetheless quite out of place culturally: for it was modeled on the style of the Berber *igharm* or *qsar* of the High Atlas, with some three stories, and was constructed with the idea of providing the Rifians with a sample of what other Berbers in the South of Morocco had accomplished architecturally. The real idea behind this, of course, was to provide the Aith Waryaghar highlanders with a sense of "cultural continuity" with southern Moroccan Berbers; and this they simply did not and do not have. The castle itself, now a crumbling ruin and no longer used since the mid-1960s, sits on a mountain dominating the entire countryside, overlooking the Nkur River and the marches of another tribe to the east, the Axt (Bni) Tuzin. It is a rather magnificent folly, and a real "castle in Spain" - in this case, transplanted to the Rif. It is also a prize example of Emilio Blanco's ultra-Spanish quixotry.

It seems, however, that in the construction of this edifice, Blanco went over the heads of some of his superior officers. The then High Commissioner of the Spanish Zone, Gen. Luis Orgaz Yoldi, viewed the building of the castle with disfavor, and on February 10, 1942, Blanco was sent off to Spanish Guinea as Secretary-General of that colony, mainly so that he could both be promoted and kept away from Morocco at the same time. However, due both to the fact that the steamy climate of West Africa was injurious to Blanco's health (he suddenly contracted a violent ulcer which up to that time had been quiescent) and that Gen. Orgaz seems to have had a change of heart in the matter, Blanco was recalled to Morocco before the end of the year. Perhaps as appeasement, Orgaz instituted the "Législation Blanco", as it was evidently known to the French, upon which Blanco had worked so ceaselessly during his tenure in the Rif: the establishment of constitutionally recognized *jma'ath* (*jama'a*-s) or local community councils (Sp. *consejos de yemáa*), in accordance with the traditional Berber governmental system of superimposed representation at all major political levels.

On November 5, 1942, Blanco was appointed Sub-Delegate of Native Affairs and Sub-Inspector of Khalifian Forces in Tetuan, and on August 8, 1944, he was promoted again to Delegate of Native Affairs. I have often heard it said that during his tenure, any Rifian was welcome in his office at any hour of the day or night. Favoritism, perhaps; but no apology is offered for it here, for my own interest in

114 Rifians led to my interest in Blanco.

On August 23, 1945, Blanco left Morocco, never to return. He was sent to the office of the Army Chief of Staff in Madrid, which was to be his final post.

The following year, 1946, his last three published articles saw the light, two in the Madrid monthly journal Africa and the third in the Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos organ of the Institute of Political Studies, again in Madrid. The first two were ethnological in character, as befitting the journal in which they appeared, and the third was political, again befitting the second journal. Of the first two, one was a short and well-illustrated essay entitled Notas sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano, a study in comparative ethnology. In this, Blanco compares Rifian gravestone decorations with those of two Jewish cemeteries in Shawen and Tetuan, which, as Delegate of Native Affairs, he had an opportunity to visit. The second is a much longer essay, which appeared in three instalments, called Las Danzas Rifeñas. This treatise is a definitive work on Berber dance forms in Northern Morocco, and in it Blanco reaches his artistic peak as a master of (128) the pen-and-ink sketch. The content of the third essay, which deals in a fundamental way with the whole position of Spanish colonialist aims in Morocco, will be discussed in its proper place in the next section of this introduction.

On March 23, 1948, Blanco received his final promotion, to full colonel, but the stomach trouble he had contracted in Spanish Guinea was to prove too much for him. He died on April 29, 1949, in the Military Hospital in Madrid, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven.

000 the French Bureaux Arabes of Algeria, which, on the Spanish side, were certainly the direct inspiration on the Intervenciones. Contemporary Spanish sources, notably Capt. Candido Lobera, an influential architect of early Spanish policy in the Rif, as well as (from 1902) the editor of the Melilla newspaper El Telegrama del Rif, are quite explicit on this point - one on which later Spanish sources tend to hedge[13], possibly because of misgivings (in our opinion, totally unwarranted) regarding the French origin of the concept.

In the initial period after pacification, the Spanish authorities tended to divide up the administrative territories of their zone along ethnic lines entirely, but by the 1930s they had decided that such a division produced blocs of territory which were too unequal in size. Hence a compromise was reached, and one which, furthermore, did no violence to pre-existing tribal structures or territories. What it amounted to was, in effect, the division of the zone into five territorios or "territories" of more or less equal size, each with its regional or territorial capital and each with its regional or territorial interventor, the Interventor Territorial. Reading from west to east, these territories were: 1) Jbala, with its regional capital (apart from the zonal capital), in Tetuan, and consisting of 11 tribes

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[13]--Capt. Cándido Lobera Girela, Memoria sobre la Organización y Funcionamiento de las Oficinas de Asuntos Arabes de Argelia: Proyecto de Bases para la Creación de Organismos Analogos en las Plazas en el Norte de Africa, Melilla: Tipografia "El Telegrama del Rif", Sept. 1905, pp. 31-42. The title of this work alone is a give-away. Hence the asseveration of José María Cordero Torres (Organización del Protectorado Español en Marruecos, 2 vols., Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942-1943, vol. II, p. 6) to the effect that the intervenciones were derived from the earlier Spanish encomienda system in Latin America may be regarded as completely erroneous.

175 161 114 (Sanchez Perez
mentions the population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its *Interventor Territorial*, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the *Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas* in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several *Interventores Comarcales*, usually majors, and then *Interventores de Primera Clase*, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant *Interventores de Segunda* who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the *intervencion* system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish *interventor de primera*, usually a captain, and the *qaid* or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the *interventor de*

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[113] [16] --Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952*, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de Espana en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

●114 It is now appropriate to introduce Emilio Blanco Izaga into this same intervención system, of which he made so much and for which, in the Rif, he did so much. His effectiveness was achieved largely in the decade of 1930-1940, during a period of extreme strife in Spain itself. One cannot, of course, have everything; but in one sense it is perhaps unfortunate that Blanco was unable to participate actively in Spain's war against 'Abd al-Krim: for it is possible that some of his ideas about the resuscitation of Berber Customary Law (ca'ida or 'urf) in the Rif might have become considerably modified had he done so. He did not realize that by the time he himself had arrived on the scene, Customary Law was already a dead letter, and that 'Abd al-Krim, at the zenith of his power in 1923-1925 and in his role of religious reformer (for he was a former qadi who had been strongly influenced by the Salafiya Movement), had been responsible for its demise[17].

Thus, in 1930, Emilio Blanco, quite unwittingly, seems to have begun his career as an interventor with a possible strike against him. For 1930 was the year of the famous - or notorious - "Berber Dahir" in the French Zone; and although the official Spanish attitude toward it, and toward the formal support to be given to Customary Law - as opposed to Orthodox Maliki Muslim Law (with which it was in fact in agreement on most, though not all, major issues) - in the large Berber-speaking areas of the French protectorate, was one of outright

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[113] [17]--Cf. Pessah Shinar, "'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Krim: Religious Influences on their Thought and Action", Asian and African Studies: Annual of the Israeli Oriental Society, I, 1965, pp. 139-174; and cf. also D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, Chapter III, to be published.

disapproval, Blanco was to become a leading spirit of protest, on the Spanish side, in favor of the decree. His attitude about it evidently faithfully echoed that of many of his co-officers in the intervención service. They felt that the Spanish "Africanist League" should have had its way in 1925, while the Rifian War was still on, and seen to the imposition of Berber Customary Law throughout the Rif, from the Wuringa River on the west to the Nkur River and the Thimsaman to the east[18]. None of these people, Blanco included, had reckoned with the now departed 'Abd al-Krim, exiled by the French on Reunion Island (so that the Spaniards would not execute him), as the agent of social change that he was[19]. The plain fact was 'Abd al-Krim had effected so many changes in the Rifian politico-jural system that, once the war was over and disarmament of the tribes had been completed, the Spanish administration really had no option but to continue where he left off. It also would seem more than probable that the expenditure and outlay (to say nothing of the paperwork) involved in such a regional restructuring of the judiciary, or of one segment of it, would have been more than the protectorate budget could stand, particularly after a long and costly war.

Yet the evidence is clear that up, at least, until April 1939 Blanco kept forwarding indignant memoranda to the High Commissioner in Tetuan urging the adoption of a Customary Law system for the Rifians, along the lines of that already created by the French for the Berber

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[18] --Cf. Cesareo Rodriguez Aguilera, Manual de Derecho de Marruecos, Barcelona: Bosch, 1952, p. 109.

[19] --Cf. D.M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, II, 1, Tetuan 1954, pp. 51-86.

tribes in their zone. He also tried his best to "unify" Moroccan Berber culture in other ways, e.g., by providing the Rifians in Waryagharland, at least, with Southern Moroccan qsur styles of architecture with which they were totally unfamiliar. The Qasba (to grace it with the Arabic name, rather than with the Spanish alcazaba) at Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, is a magnificent construction, and blends most harmoniously with the landscape; but today it is a crumbling ruin, because it is no longer useful, for tastes and ideas have changed. In this sense, Blanco's ideas were much like those of Marshal Lyautey: to preserve Traditional Morocco in a vase clos. As Lyautey was enchanted with the city of Fez, so was Blanco enchanted with the Rif. But neither of them was able to put his finger in the dyke of social change. In very much the French manner, Blanco kept stressing the politico-jural "differences" between Rifian Berbers and Arabs in the Spanish Zone. This is, of course, one crucial point where his sociological analyses go astray; and a wise protectorate administration evidently recognized the fact by ignoring his repeated requests for the implantation of Customary Law.

It is also possible (as was suggested to me by Blanco's widow) that Blanco's frequent head-on collisions with the administrative higher-ups over matters of this sort led to the eventual blockage of much of the material which he had prepared for publication. The second part of La Ley Rifeña was published, but the first part was never even finished - and its excellent fragments appear here, in translation, for the first time. It seems, indeed, that Blanco had real difficulties with the bureaucracy, and that, in particular, the late Sr. Don José

114 Diaz de Villegas, the former Director of Morocco and Spanish Colonies (Director de Marruecos y Colonias) in Madrid, successfully blocked the bulk of his most important manuscript material on the Rif for publication.

What is really needed, of course, in order that scholarly research in any discipline may be able to get to the roots of the intervención system is not so much the formal "chain-of-command" tables, and the accompanying rules and regulations, which abound in the literature, but a perusal of the day-to-day, week-to-week, month-to-month and year-to-year correspondence between Tetuan and the five territories of the Spanish Zone. Only in this way will the real meat of the system be revealed. As yet, this type of correspondence is not available in the otherwise admirable personal archives of Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, which may be consulted in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid. Perhaps some day some of this documentation may eventually be forthcoming: for many of Blanco's reports show his preoccupations about the building of a mosque at Point X, the construction of a spring or well at Point Y, and the cementing of an irrigation ditch at Point Z, to say nothing of the interminable court cases which came up every week, on market day, in the tribunals both of the tribal qaid and the tribal qadi. These were, and still are, day-to-day problems on which both a running commentary and some attempt at analysis would be helpful; and distressingly little is made of them in the literature.

Blanco may have been unrealistic about Customary Law, but he can hardly be said to have been so about Rifian sociopolitical units, as

114 his *Traditional Jma'ath* paper of 1935, his *Note on the Rifian Jma'th* paper of about 1938 and his published *La Ley Rifeña* of 1939, amongst other documents authored by him which are translated in this volume, abundantly point out. His point on clan (or "fractional") autonomy, within a tribal context, was delivered so convincingly in his 1939 *La Ley Rifeña* that the administration really began to take notice of the *Interventor Territorial del Rif*. It has to do, in such a neat way, with the relative autonomy, from each other, of top-level segments, or clans, in a tribe, that we leave the argument behind it for the appropriate parts of the text, to speak for themselves. For, unlike much of the French literature, one leaves the reading of Blanco's materials with the distinct impression that he really understood something about some of the theory behind segmentary societies, amongst which the Rifian tribes could all traditionally be numbered. His theoretical conclusions of 1939 led to the "rural junta" reforms of 1942, inaugurated under the High Commissionership of Gen. Luis Orgaz Yoldi very shortly before Blanco himself began to take a more high-level policy participation in them as Delegate of Native Affairs. Blanco did not live to see the creation of the clan or "fractional" *juntas*, or *juntas de farqa*, in 1952, in which each tribal clan was in effect accorded its own separate budget and its council consisted of an elected member of every local community in it[20]; but he would no doubt have been happy to find that, bit by bit, a few more snippets of civic responsibility were being inculcated in the tribal areas, and that many of the articles in the decree concerned strongly echoed views which he had previously recorded in his own memoranda.

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[20] --Cf. Garcia Figueras, op. cit., 1957, pp. 294-304.

●114 The creation of the new clan councils persisted until the end of the Spanish Protectorate in 1956; and in concluding our remarks about the protectorate it seems appropriate to make a brief assessment of the ideology behind it: for this ideology was strongly if not totally endorsed by Blanco himself, in a published article in 1946[21]. His viewpoint, nicely and previously gauged by Robert Montagne (himself a latter-day architect of Berber policy in the French Zone), in an unpublished paper of 1939, after a visit to the Spanish Zone just after the conclusion of the Civil War[22], may hence be taken as thor-000oughly representative. Montagne refers to the central feature of this ideology as "encirclement", an almost claustrophobic Spanish fear of being hemmed in by both France and England, and the relevant passage in his paper is worth quoting (the translation is my own):[23]

> "Spain felt threatened both by France and England (i.e., at the time of the colonial "grab" in the nineteenth century: translator's comment), and hence to one part of enlightened Spanish public opinion, the mountains of the Rif and the Jbala represented a (polar) frontier with the Pyrenees which gave Spain a kind of strategic protection. But this frontier was badly defended: the profound unity of the Sharifian Empire, cemented by centuries of history, could not help imposing itself upon Moroccans of the Spanish Zone. On the other hand, great breaches are opened in the east by the Mulwiya Plains, the Aith Bu Yihyi gap which threatens Melilla, while in the center are the French observatories in the Igzinnayen, from which (Central Rifian) point the whole Plain of al-Husaima can be held under fire. (Translator's comment:

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[113] [21]--Cf. Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Politica Africana", op. cit., 1946.
[22]--Robert Montagne, La Política Africana de Espana (trans.), Servicio de Intervención de la Región de Gomara, Chauen, Oct. 1939, MSS., 57 pp., Catalogue No. Afr. GF Ca. C-14 (in Africa Section, National Library, Madrid).
[23]--P. 46 of Montagne, ibid., MSS., 1939.

> 114 this last observation is resoundingly echoed by Blanco himself in his comments on strategic factors in his own unpublished Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, MSS., April 1940, in which he complains, with some justification, that as a result of the joint Franco-Spanish campaigns in 1925-1926, the French occupied the territory of the Igzinnayen tribe, territory which would originally have fallen to Spain under the initial protectorate agreements; and that the French refused to give it up. It is patently obvious that this Igzinnayen territory dominates the Plain of al-Hussima even more than does the Jbil Hmam of the Aith Waryaghar - for it is higher.)
> 000 Finally, in the west, the Atlantic plains of l-Qsar and l-'Ara'ish are favorable to the advance of modern armies. Spanish nationalism may be irritated at seeing the preponderance of France in Oran (Algeria), where 250,000 Spanish immigrants, over the course of a century, became transformed into French colons. And Tangier, with its international regime, zealously guarded by France and England, also appeared sometimes as an irredentist zone. So thus the Spanish Rif, shut in behind a double fortress of mountains and fortifications, maintained a precarious state of equilibrium. Part of the tribal contingents would serve to guard the 'threatened' frontiers, and others would come to act as Franco's praetorian guard, to give the military regime of Nationalist Spain a mercenary support of proven fidelity. Hence the nationalism in the cities was thus the only internal threat, and not a great one at that.
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> "But this project has one weak point: it presupposes the total passivity of the Spanish Zone, proportionately one of the most heavily populated regions of Morocco....."

The above passage of course reflects a thoroughly French point of view, one not calculated to appeal to Spanish Nationalists of the period, with whose administration in their own zone of Morocco Montagne was otherwise in sympathy: for a keynote of his paper is greater inter-zonal cooperation. It is thus of interest to compare [114] Montagne's views with those of Blanco himself, which, as expressed in his 1946 article, are equally throughly Spanish.

114 Stripped of colonialist rhetoric, it is evident that Blanco's principal concern is with the frontiers of Spain, first of all, and secondly, with Morocco as a natural prolongation of these frontiers. The small northern zone of Morocco which was awarded to Spain through the agreements of 1906 and 1912 was not commensurate, he argues, with the greatness of the Spanish nation and with its role in history; and hence wounded personal and national pride, quite naturally perhaps, comes out as strongly in Blanco's writing on this subject as it does in that of any of the other apologists for Spanish colonialism in Africa. However, Blanco is rather more forceful here than most, and takes the view that Spain's southern frontier should not have been merely relegated to the Rif, but that it should have encompassed the whole of the Atlas chain and the Dra Valley as well, ie., in effect, all of Morocco, to link it up with the Southern Spanish Protectorate and the Spanish Sahara in the south. (His point is, of course, although he never actually says so, total exclusion of the French.) He adduces a notion of complementary frontiers, the Atlas for the Iberians and the Pyrenees for the Berbers. Spain and Morocco, he holds, represent a single cultural unit, a Western Mediterranean one of transition between Northern Europe and Black Africa: of this unit, the upper, northern Iberian half is wealthy and progress-oriented, while the lower, southern Berber half is backward, rude and impoverished. Hence, Spanish security cannot admit any foreign infiltration into this area and Blanco sees no solution other than the careful gaining of the good-will of its inhabitants,

114 not through domination of its soil in the old colonial manner, but because of the fact that the Spanish colonial mission is vital and of the spirit. Spain's historic claims, after seven centuries of Muslim occupation, are to see in Morocco a first line of defence across the straits, and ultimately, the mission of the Spaniard and that of the Berber are one and the same. It is not political, racial or religious in character; it is, rather, to relate between continents. Both peoples, Berbers and Iberians, represent continental appendages in contact (apéndices continentales en contacto), as he argues with a certain nicety (p. 55). In short, they understand each other very well, and to cement such understanding they need the higher interests of mutual security. Beside considerations such as these, factors such as differences in language and religion are of very secondary importance.

000 In our opinion, this represents a more-than-adequate synopsis of the ideology behind the Spanish Protectorate. On the analogy of "flogging a dead horse", there seems now little to be gained either in supporting its (often questionable) premises or in dissecting them. The only real point which need be made, now that the protectorate itself has passed into history, is that, in its critical final stages, at least, there was nowhere the searing hatred by North Zone Moroccans of Spaniards which characterized and typified relations between South Zone Moroccans and the French, in the early 1950s. But then economic development had been almost nil in the Spanish Zone, most Spanish colons were nearly as poor as the Moroccans were, and the gulf between have and have-nots simply did not exist. It may have been, in a sense,

000 a case of the one-eyed leading the blind, but Blanco was certainly correct in describing it as a venture of the spirit rather than as one of development. And in this fact resides the so-called "mystic mission" of the *interventor*.

Section III: General Critique of Blanco's Work As Here Presented

114 In the opinion of the present writer-editor, the core, and certainly the most interesting aspect, of Emilio Blanco's work, both published and in MSS. form, revolves around Rifian social structure, in the most extensive and all-embracing use of this concept. We use the terms "both published and in MSS. form" advisedly, because the present edited and annotated translation is an amalgamation of the two. As noted above, Blanco in 1939 published a work entitled *El Rif (2a. Parte: La Ley Rifeña): II - Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados* (The Rif: 2nd Part: Rifian Law: II - The Rifian Qanuns With Commentary), under the auspices of the *Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Delegación de Astunos Indígenas: Centro de Estudios Marroquies* (High Commission of Spain in Morocco: Delegation of Native Affairs: Centre of Moroccan Studies). As indicated by the title, this slim volume of 151 pages was only the second section of the second part (or possibly only the latter) of what would have been a much longer, general study of Rifian ethnography in an overall sense, if it had ever seen the light of day - or so Sra. Blanco and Spanish officers who knew her husband informed me. The first part, or first volume, consists, in typescript, and, in the main, of five completed chapters of a projected

114 seven-chapter work, which as it stands is entitled *Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño* (Lectures on Rifian Customary Law), and dated December 17-18, 1935, plus numerous isolated fragments of information (some in typescript, most handwritten) which bear on the same subject in one way or another. There are, in addition, four other shorter typescripts, and, of these, the first two I found not amongst the Blanco papers in Madrid, but in the archives of the Bureau of Ajdir, the *intervención comarcal* site for the Aith Waryaghar, where they were kindly brought to my attention by the then administrator of that tribe, Capt. José Rodriguez Erola, in 1955. The third I found in the Blanco archives in 1960, and the fourth, plus a duplicate of the second, in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid in 1970. These papers are: 1) *Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel* (The Traditional *Jma'ath* of the Aith Waryaghar), dated Ajdir, August 27, 1935; 2) relevant sections from a longer administrative report entitled *Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia* (A Study on the Border Tribe of the Igzinnayen[24]), Anexo al Boletín de Informacion, Num. 4, dated April 30, 1940; 3) an unpublished introduction, in typescript, to the work on the Rifian *qanuns* (to be referred to henceforth as *La Ley Rifeña*, or simply as *LR*) published in 1939, which deals with Blanco's hypotheses regarding the survival of Berber Custom and Common Law in an Islamic country and context;

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[101] [24]--The Igzinnayen are referred to in this particular context as a "border" tribe because they are the one Central Rifian tribe located in the then (before 1956) French rather than in the then Spanish Zone of Morocco. The memorandum in question bears the catalogue no. U/ñ in the Garcia Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

114 and 4) Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Note on the Rifian Jma'th), which is undated but could have been written any time from about 1936 to 1940, probably closer to the latter date, and which is concerned largely with the perpetuation of the Rifian jma'th as an ongoing social unit in a modern administrative context[25].

There are many other papers in the Blanco collection which have some relevance to Rifian social structure, but most of these are copies of reports written by other tribal administrators which found their way into his possession. The remaining ones, the authorship of which was not indicated, were positively identified for me by Srta. Emilia Blanco Moro as not being the work of her father.

128 As may be deduced from the foregoing, I have, in working up the Blanco materials for publication, had to resort to a "magpie" or "scissors-and-paste" technique, in order to combine and recombine published and unpublished data; and no one is more aware of the shortcomings of such a method than I. But the point at issue here (114) is that the unpublished MSS. materials and the published Ley Rifeña bear a very integral interrelationship to each other, and that each of them can best be understood intercontextually, each in the context of and in terms of the other. This point will become increasingly evident through a perusal of the main body of the work. Another perhaps even more cogent reason for including a translation of LR is that, to my knowledge, there is not a single copy of this work extant anywhere in the United States. It need only be said at this point

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[25] --This paper bears the catalogue no. W1/ñ, in the Garcia Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

128 that the responsibility both for the translation and for the arrangement of the materials is entirely my own.

114 We come now to the overall content of this work. It will soon become evident to the reader that Col. Blanco labored under a number of anthropological handicaps: 1) he was a soldier, with strictly a military mind; 2) he was evidently not fluent in Arabic, as evinced by the fact that he refers to Juan Gomez Jaen as the real translator into Spanish of the *qanuns* in his *LR*; 3) he was probably not fluent in Rifian, as evinced by his transliteration of Rifian terms in the text (many of which I have had to retransliterate); 4) he continually tried to force Rifian categories of thought into European molds; and 5) he made numerous errors of fact, mostly small, but a very few, gigantic.

These may seem unnecessarily harsh judgments to some, and it is certainly not my intention to tread on any toes. But despite Blanco's frequent errors of fact and occasional errors of interpretation, despite his tendency to romanticize the subject, and despite the strong influence exercised upon him by the work of Robert Montagne[26] (with whom, nonetheless, he could frequently disagree, as shown by his "rejoinder" of 1946 to Montagne's 1939 paper on Spanish African policy in the previous section: for Montagne's influence on the sociological thinking of French Protectorate officialdom was enormous), there is one colossal point in Blanco's favor: without any question, and in a very sure way, his work, throughout, creates a thoroughly Rifian mood;

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[113] [26] --Cf. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930, and *La Vie Sociale et la Vie Politique des Berbères*, Paris: Editions du Comite de l'Afrique Française, 1931.

114 and we feel that it merits translation and interpretation if only for this reason. This is so totally aside from the invaluable insights - some of which are occasional flashes of real brilliance - which it gives us into Rifian social structure and customary law, insights which all become evident in the main body of the work.

114 671 171 There is, too, another, wider reason for the translation of Emilio Blanco which is presented here. Berber social structure may be regarded in Morocco as an unfashionable field of study, and this is particularly true of Berber jural procedure, for, since the country became independent in 1956, its whole population, Arabs and Berbers alike, has come under the sway of Islamic Law. The net result of this, we venture to predict, is that the memory of Berber Common Law will die out entirely with the oldest surviving generation. 114 671 The details of such law are still clearer among the Berbers of the Central Atlas than among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco, because the French administration was rigorous in its underwriting of such law until 1956 - despite storms of Arab protest over the 1930 "Berber Dahir". Present-day Rifians, even the oldest ones, on the other hand, only tend to remember primary jural principles, such as the number of cojurors required in a case of suspected murder in the days of the 'Ripublik' - a term which Rifians use retrospectively to refer to the long period of violence, bloodfeud and what we have elsewhere labelled "organized acephaly"[27] which preceded the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim, and in no way to be confused with the latter's "Rifian Republic" -

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[27] --Cf. D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, to be published.

114 and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a
671 market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out)
114 on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the
443 clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative
182 autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it
was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his
114 fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya'
671
682 (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit
a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities
of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and
that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact
from them one thousand duros as a fine".

114 In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab,
671 Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco
443 clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential in-
182 stitution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law",
where the clan councillors or imgharen convened in regular weekly
meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of
the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely
had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was
"broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is
no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically
says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain
slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless
and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

114 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle
671 shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with
443 references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market,
182 as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Cus-
671 tomary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest
[681] living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but
114 does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28],
127 have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's
[671] work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

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[113] [28] --Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

621
671 example, the *qanuns* of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
114 Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in *LR*) clearly show. And that such
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's
truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, especially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, traditionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (*LR*, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the *liff* system of alliances often, in the *Rif*, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of *liffs* *per se* was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of *diya* or bloodwealth with the concept of *haqq*, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

121 In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. _Bidonville_ or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with _cité ouvrière_ sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the _qabila_ or _taqbilt_, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural communes" has been designed to unseat it. [114] Changes in forms of social structure tend to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. 128 Comments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

562 Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property
428 and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a
[421] woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed,
[361] very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement
morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would
562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She
can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her
agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at
weddings, and at least they *seem* happy; and they are able to plague
their husbands in many, many ways.

596 4) *Jajgu* (pl. *ijujga*--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; *jij*, pl.
613 *ijajjen*, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth
and Igzinnayen; and *azwar*, pl. *isuran*, "vein",--also, alliteratively,
"penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit
to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family
branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a *dharfiqth* or patri lineage). I
596 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable
114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to
be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants
from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was
the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not
completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons,
these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three *ijujga*.
In any case, it is understood that branches or *ijujga* originate from
each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important
category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as much in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 [623] If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):--...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 basis). The dharfiqth is the fundamental unit in Rifian social
organization, and it is erroneous to circumscribe it by defining it
in terms of volume: so and so many houses, hearths or rifles.[60] The
613 dharfiqth, a kin group, is independent of the jma'ath, which is the
623 association of dharfiqin or parts of them, and thus the elemental
unit of the social (read "political") organization, the most distinctive
feature of which, in my opinion, is lack of kinship, a point
soon to be proven when we speak of the organization of the grouping
called jma'ath.[61]

613 According to Robert Montagne in his Les Berberes et le Makhzen
114 dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 239, the Rifian dharfiqth is
equivalent to the family (i.e. lineage) group called either ighs or
ikhs, or "bone", in the Atlas. It contains a dozen houses, thirty
or forty "hearths" (i.e. nubath), and is a group strong enough to defend
itself. Its leaders call themselves amghar (pl. imgharen). Montagne
says the word is derived etymologically from Arabic rafaqa, "a group
or company of people", or that it may be a deformation of Arabic
farqa (or fariqa), "division".[62] He thinks it possible to attribute
the name "clan" to the unit which the Aith Waryaghar (and other
Rifians) call dharfiqth because it is a larger and more durable
family group than the ikhs of the Western High Atlas, while at the
same time a kind of political unit, for it insures the fact that the
blood tie exists between "hearths" of the same Rifian jma'ath.

My own opinion is that Montagne is in error here. Within the
[623] dharfiqth, to be sure, there are indeed blood ties, but within the
Rifian jma'ath there is no known kinship between its dharfiqin, for

FOOTNOTE: A

613 113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this
614 diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right,
619 *dhaddarth* (Blanco's spelling *taddartz*), "house"; *jajgu* (Blanco's
621 spelling *yasgo*), "lineage branch"; and *dharfiqth* (Blanco's spelling
623 *tarfik*), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (*grupo familiar*). At or just below ground level, slightly
594 above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group",
596 "line of blood" (*linea de sangre*). At ground level, from left to right, we have *dhamzyida* (Blanco's spelling *tamesguida*), "mosque";
●114 *jma'th* (Blanco's spelling *yemaa*); and *iziddjifen* (Blanco's spelling *islifen*), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (*consejo*). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, *suq* (Blanco's spelling *sok*), "market"; *qanun* (Blanco's spelling *kanon*), "custom", and *imqqranen* (Blanco's spelling *imkranen*), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (*fraction*). The apex is the *dhaqbitsh* (Blanco's spelling *taqbilt*), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (*tribu*); above this, in brackets, is *Aitharba'in* "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling *ait arbain*); above this, *agrau* (Blanco's spelling *agrao*), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (*El Rif*).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of *any* society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined *vis-a-vis* each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

621 646 182 typical terms, like that of *amghar*, since the institution of the *Aitharba'in*, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian *jma'th* according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The *jma'th* was the sovereign, ● [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 631 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of l-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur 614 631 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a *shaikh* at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

191 if not non-existent[144]......In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which
in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the
name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin
and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from
Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no
little contempt[147]......In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin,
in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language
and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this
tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and
obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds
between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the
"Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619 648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door
neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin,
the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa
(Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152].
Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the
simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

114 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive
619 listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from
Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco,
places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or
"Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having
619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion
is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely
Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin,
157 long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance
emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and
abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he
gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-
619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very
obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar), to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

FOOTNOTES:

101 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of
671 Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the
area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government
• 114 control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects
to the views of the majority of French observers, who label *siba* as
"anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon")
and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the *Blad al-Makhzin*
were also organized on a tribal basis.

A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the *Blad al-*
101 *Makhzin*, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans ex-
671 *tended*, was a "land of order", while the *Blad as-Siba*, whose inhabi-
114 tants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it
113 temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, *Caravan:*
The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323).
648 This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher de-
gree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of
and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (*Saints of the Atlas*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", *The Middle East Journal*, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, *Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb*, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, *Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle*, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the *makhzin-siba* dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the *same* (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the *makhzin* and *siba* spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known else-
101 where as *siba* was termed *Ripublik*, and that this not only has nothing
196 to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (*Dawla Jumhuriya*
668 *Rifiya*), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian
Republic", indeed, was to do away with the *Ripublik*.

181 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only
does so later, in his MSS. chapter on *Family Organization*. All of
104 them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we
propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. *Twiza* (Rifian *dhiwiza*) is perhaps best translated as "corvèe", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French *corvee*), which underscores its mandatory character.
Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its
104 *Rifian* derivative, *r-uzi'ath*, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually *edible* and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. *Dhwara*, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as *twala*, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic *nuba* and its Rifian derivative *nubth*, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water *in turn* by each user; taking of barley to the *fiqh* of schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, *in turn*, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on *Family Organization*). And *liff* is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here
114 that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, *Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

648 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
671 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state
668 of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal *interventores* was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer *'Abd al-Krim*, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the *pre*-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the '*Ripublik*', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as *siba*. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's *status quo* in this respect.

000 al-Krim's *status quo* in this respect.

671 114 Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's *Les Berbères et le Makhzen* upon his work and thought.

177 671 779 5--The umbrella (Rifian *rmdhar*) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] [293] [114] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 113 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., *Encyclopedia of Morals*, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

[596] 9--The *dharfiqth*, pl. *dharfiqin*, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a *sharif* (in Rifian, *amrabidh*), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether *de facto* or *de jure* is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the *dharfiqth* are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called *jajgu*, pl. *ijujga* in Aith Waryaghar, and *jij*, pl. *ijajjen* in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

[193] 10--*Jma'th* (from Moroccan Arabic *jma'a*) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root *jm'* in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun *jum'a*, "Friday", as well as *jami'*, "mosque". One may

006 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current
in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving
621 from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums,
619 "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or
top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both
114 imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is
614 either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What
is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

000 arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial
system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes,
even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons,
never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a
[114] socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended
and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances
[128] in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have
tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem
more nearly to fit the context.

17--*Imrabdhen*, sing. *amrabidh* (from Arabic *murabit*) are saints, living
or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused
with *shurfa*, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or
[627] shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed,
perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are
[628] many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary
tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

[563] 18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--
they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is
(or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the
area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection
of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to
the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services
were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the
[114] same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult
to fathom.

181 19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the *blad as-siba*, and
Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized
114 anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be
extended to cover the whole notion of *siba*. In another publication we
have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of
this term, which goes back to Montagne, of *siba* as "anarchy", a notion
which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does
a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco
Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", *Tamuda*, VI, 2, 1958, pp.
171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in
the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by
at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--
[113] cf. André Adam, *La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de
l'Anti-Atlas*, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951,
p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect,
[619] concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term,
but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or
from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage
which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of
the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words,
this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind
when writing of "organized anarchy".

181 114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

[631] [681] We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

[634] [114] [113] 21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

[114] Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

000 [114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif [692] that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is,
[851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [231] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] [463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes
[114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--*Ar-raqba*, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, *l-'adawa*, Rifianized to *r'adhawth*, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] [233] [851] 42--*Dhwara* is synonymous with *nubth*, and here Blanco is again in error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] [196] [651] 43--Blanco's phrase is *Es, pues, una sociedad turnante*, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of *nubth*, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The most significant function of the *nubth* in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual *tirtib* tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the *tirtib* tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] [671] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] [171] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000 47--An individual does not, *sensu stricto*, enter a *liff* on his own,
[613] but is rather affiliated automatically with the *liff* or wider alliance
to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his
allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious
[171] brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco)
is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after
Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence
on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of
[113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods
and Moroccan Politics", *Middle East Journal*, 1950. ...The most
important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts
[668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that
'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but
that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities
in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their
turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some
of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin
and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as *habus* has nothing to do with the
return to her father's house of a divorced woman. *Habus* is a religiouse
428 or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the
form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a
114 mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which
423 has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of
[794] "private *habus*" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central
Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his
land may put it in a state of *habus*, as it were, to prevent them from
doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is
equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony!
Thus the idea of *habus* is intimately linked with that of indivision,
and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect
to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real
and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in
practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry.
Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to
come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that
this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it
is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the
"men's *habus*", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards
a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion
[113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les
Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca",
in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., *Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*,
Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania
Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam
refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of
small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000 [114] 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] [669] [186] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, *ramas familiares*--and, as I have stated earlier, what the *jajgu* is in fact is a lineage branch of the *dharfiqth*, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the *jajgu* or *azwar* is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned *agnatically* from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a *jajgu* which takes a *uterine* descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though *ijujga* *may* originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives *may* come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the *jajgu* may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is *always* reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

000 in the social organization of the area as a whole.

57--Blanco mistakenly transcribes this as islifen. In Rifian, this has an entirely different meaning, for isrif (pl. isrifen) is an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband". Thus, two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other.

[196] [114] [113] 58--Jma'ath does not, except in official Spanish parlance, properly mean council. The term for council is Aitharba'in or Aitarba'in (sing. utharb'in), literally "people (e.g. representatives) of the people" and not "sons of (or people of) the forty", as numerous other authorities (including Coon, op. cit., p. 96, and José Martos de Castro, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero", Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333, have indicated. Lionel Galand, however, favors on linguistic grounds the "people of the forty" etymology for the Berbers of the Sus, however (personal communication).

59--What a Rifian generally says is Nish zi dharwa n fran, "I am from the sons of so and so", mentioning the name of his dharfiqth rather than the word dharfiqth itself, when the question of lineage identity, within the clan, comes up.

60--Definitions of this kind were very much the rule, it might be added, among both the French and Spanish tribal administrators, most of whom were military men.

[114] 61--This is an instance of Blanco's constant inclination to divorce what he considers "social units" from those he considers "political units". The distinction, of course, is very largely an artificial one, for the higher up the purely "social" units go in the scale, the more "political" they tend to become, and vice versa. It is, once again, a classic example of European rigidity in classification (and the ever-present desire to put abstractions such as sociopolitical units into neat pigeonholes) as opposed to the essential fluidity (and consequent tendency to elude neat pigeonholing) which, we feel, is so basic to an understanding of these units, not only as they exist in Rifians' minds but as models structurally conceived by the anthropologist. And this means, above all, that each unit can only be understood in relation to all the others, not only on the same level of segmentation, but on those above and below it as well.

It is quite true that in some individual jma'ath-s, lack of kinship between component dharfiqin is an overriding factor in group composition; but this is by no means the case for all of them, and is really the exception rather than the rule.

62--This latter may be the correct derivation; Rifians who know enough Arabic to be conscious of the metathesis (and they are few) sometimes consciously pronounce the word dhafriqth. But the first possibility seems equally valid, that the word is derived from the root r-f-q, "to accompany" and that it refers hence to "men who march and fight together". Cf. Jacques Dumaine (probably a pseudonym for Robert [115] Montagne), "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89-99.

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

[614] 69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

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[114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p.194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

000 and Sundays at Thisar, in the very center of the tribal territory (now held at Thamasind); II) Ibuqquyen--Tuesdays at Izimmuren (now defunct), Wednesdays at Anu in Azghar (now defunct), and Sundays at Ruwadi; III) Ktama (which now has only two markets, Tuesdays at Ktama and Sundays at Iqqawen)--Argiwen in clan of Bni Tmim in Swahil, Makhzin in Ulad 'Abd l-Ghaya, Imaten in Tamsaut, and Bab s-Saqiya in Amzaz (no days of the week are listed, and whether or not any of these markets are the same as the above two we do not know); IV) Aith 'Ammarth--clan of Yinn S'aid Ikhrif--blank; clan of Aith r-Hasayn--Mondays, serving the whole tribe; clan of Ija'unen--blank; clan of Aith 'Abbu-blank.

[114] 80--Aside from the rather far-fetched idea of nomadism, this notion of Blanco's is not unlike one expressed to me by Ernest Gellner (personal communication, Sept. 13, 1960) regarding segment or clan names among various tribes in the Central Atlas: "When a tribe migrates to and/or conquers a new territory, all its forces are required; hence all segments are represented, and hence each segment gets a share in the spoils of the new territory. This means, however, that the old "top segments" now stand for relatively small groups in the new place, and in due course the whole lot of them in the new place come to be known either by the place name and in effect add a new segment, or one of the old top segments comes to cover the lot of them in the new place, so that, locally, the other previous top-level names now move one down relatively to it.....This might be illustrated by Ait 'Atta, Ait Yafalman and Ait Sukhman groups, by comparing inconsistencies in the segmentary naming system from place to place".

[113] 81--Blanco only touches here on the highly interesting and important problem of the respective and complementary roles of genealogy and geography in tribal, clan and segment names in the Rifian area; for a fuller discussion of this subject, see our "Place and Tribal Names among the Arabo-Berbers of Northwestern Morocco: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis", Hesperis, 3e-4e trimestre, 1960, pp. 457-571.

[114] 82--This is an error. Friday is the Muslim day of rest, although not in exactly the same degree that Sunday is among Christians. However, the contrast made by Blanco here is challenging from another point of view: attendance at market on market day seems to be greater, both from an absolute standpoint and from the standpoint of percentage, than attendance at the mosque of the sermon on Fridays.

83--A clan may be either predominantly geographically based, in which case the propinquity of its members overrides what is essentially their non-relationship to each other; or it may be structured in terms of a common patrilineal ancestor, whose name is perpetuated even though the genealogical links which lead to him may be forgotten; or both.

84--Blanco in this sense means qanuns when he refers to customary law. As will be seen in La Ley Rifeña, the fact of whether a single tribe contains a qanun applicable to all of it or whether each clan has in effect its own qanun is largely a function of the size of the tribe in question. Virtually each clan (and in some instances each jma'th of a

000 huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

[114] 85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations [113] have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

[171] 86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

[114] 87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

[114] [794] 88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si ʿAmmar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

[114] [346] 90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of *habus* to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as *habus*, the question of who works it is resolved by the *nadhir l-ahbas*, or *habus* property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of *Habus* in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "*Ripublik*", however, in the days before there was a *nadhir l-ahbas*, the members of the *jma'th* concerned worked *habus* land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the *jma'th* would designate a poor man to work *habus* land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the *aquwwam*, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain *the* argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a *primus inter pares*, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more *primus*. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is *absurdo*.

96--The *jma'th* is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such *jma'th*-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a *higher* order. Relationships between member *jma'th*-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

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[465] 97--The *fqih* is paid by each nuclear family of the *jma'th* in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in *habus*.

[251] 98--The office of *amarras* is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (*thasrafth*) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a *mudd* was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this *qanun* are *ipso facto* no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, *imqqranen dh-imzzyanen*, and in the Arabic of *qanuns*, "*al-kibar wa al-sighar*": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of *qa'id* came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no *qadi*, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [177] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--*Bu-mwarith*: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--*Ukil l-ghuyab*: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read *aitarba'in* or *aitharba'in* (sing. *utharba'in*), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an *ex post facto* explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of *Ait-arba'in* as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, does exist in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

000 [114) 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565) 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533) [534) 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113) [648) 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114) 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory
631 of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three
131 qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all
443 questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided
[646] there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market
[648] when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden
[171] to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir.
443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area,
562 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a
114 greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. This argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their women-
562 folk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

443 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into
562 being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best
families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a
[184] women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the
Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on
Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the
market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have
disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is
● [114] essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal
territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of
origin.

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117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic
[103] designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in
[133] every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest
point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at
1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable
[823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now
in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their
[121] ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that
we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000 [114] 118--The jma'th of Isrihan gave its name to a whole subclan. The picture, however, is somewhat more complicated than Blanco would lead us to believe, although he is substantially correct. The founding family of Isrihan was the lineage of Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, parts of which are not only to be found in Upper Isrihan and in Lower Isrihan, but in Aith Hishim, Aith Wamra, and Azghar, all of which communities are in the lowlands.

The true Isrihan, then, are fairly well spread out over parts of the tribal territory and in some cases they have differentiated themselves by merely tacking the place name of their new location onto their lineage name, e.g. Isrihan n Buham, Isrihan n Aith Qamra. This is of special interest in view of the fact that most of the original land of the Isrihan, on the northern slope of the Jbil Hamam, is now occupied by a lineage named Imjawiyen, who claim descent from the clan of Amjau in the tribe of the Aith Sa'id in the Eastern Rif. This lineage, moreover, became numerous and powerful enough so that its members split into two hostile and feuding factions.

[114] 119--Blanco fails to point out that Upper Thamasind belongs to the subclan of Thigarth in the clan of Aith 'Ari, while Lower Thamasind belongs to that of Aith Ughiryizan in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and this fact detracts much weight from his argument here.

120--This, in effect, is the reverse of the principle of segmental discontinuity; and the most striking example in the Rif, on the tribal level, of this kind of heterogeneity, in which virtually every segment or clan claims an origin different from that of the others, is that of the Aith 'Ammarth, whose people say not only was their land uninhabited before their arrival, but that they came from many different tribes to fill it up. Their explanation of their tribal name, Aith 'Ammarth, "people of the filling-up", supports this. An even better example is afforded by the Siksawa or Isiksawn of the Western High Atlas (Berque, op. cit., 1955, passim).

[613] 121--The normal Rifian term for "stranger" is abarrani (from Arabic barrani); kharras is unknown to us. The community of Ajdir is inhabited by the members of three lineages, Aith Mis'aud u Yusif, Aith 'Aru 'Aisa and Aith Zar'a (the last-mentioned being that of 'Abd al-Krim); but there are, in addition, numerous stranger accretions, particularly since pacification, and Ajdir is now the largest single community (almost 5000 persons) in the Aith Waryaghar. It is equally true that if one asks about traditional segmentation, one gets only the three lineages mentioned above, for one's informants will not mention the strangers, whom they consider of little account, unless they are forced to do so. This is a problem which would amply repay careful study.

122--What Blanco means by "having a familial origin" is descent from a common ancestor.

123--Etymology of Aith Ta'rafth,: "the people of the Arabic language". This is a possible lead to the speech of their lineage ancestor, who, according to my own field notes, came not from the Aith Yittuft (two out of three clans of which speak Arabic today) but from Algeria.

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124--This lineage bears no relationship whatsoever to the *jma'th* of the same name in the Plain of Alhucemas; the latter, in any case, belongs to another clan, the Aith 'Ari.

125--The following lineages of the Aith Waryaghar are considered to be "*Aith Ya'ra*" or Bni Marin (and thus Zanatan) by descent:
In Aith 'Adhiya of Aith Bu 'Ayyash: Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in the *jma'th* of Ighmiren, Isi'arithen in that of Imnudh, and Aith Busta in that of Tazurakhth.
In Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper of Aith Bu 'Ayyas: Aith Wuzghar in the *jma'th* of Aith Bukhrif.
In Isrihan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari: Ishshuyen in the *jma'th* of Upper Ixatshumen and Ijarayen in that of Lower Ixatshumen.
Whether they are in fact descended from the Marinids (a dynasty in Morocco, 1213-1465) is problematical. What is sure, however, is that the inhabitants of the City of Nkur, which was destroyed by the Almoravid Yusif ibn Tashfint in 1084, could not possibly have been Marinids.

[114] 126--According to our notes, not only is there no *dharfiqth* of this name in Tazurakhth, but none of the lineages there are autochthonous, their ancestors all having come from elsewhere.

[196] 127--The term *yinn*, "those of", is roughly synonymous with *aith*, "people of:, but Rifians tend to use it only when speaking of lower level segments.

128--The name *ibaranen* means "partridges" (sing. *abaran*); the names of all the other small lineages listed here refer to the lineage ancestors.

129--In the Berber dialect of the Central Atlas, *aghwilas* means "panther" (fem. *taghwilast*), and the Rifian *thaghirasth* is a cognate
[136] form. There are panthers still to be found in parts of the Central Atlas today, though none in the Rif.

[114] 130--This lineage is not named by Blanco, and our field notes show no record of it.

[114] 131--It would indeed. The question really is: why should any attempt have been made by the administration to reunite two or more related lineage branches after scission had occurred and after they had not only become separated in space but incorporated into new *jma'ths*? One might almost think that Blanco is looking (in vain, it must be added) for an artificial neatness in the lineage structure of Aith Waryaghar which has no correspondence with any social reality.

132--Although he has obvious misgivings about it, Blanco appears to resign himself, in this passage, to an acceptance of the structural *status quo*!

[114] 133--"Tributaries" is the wrong word here; "offshoots" would be better.

134--Mutual rights of two related *jma'ths* certainly include participation in the collection of fines, and in certain cases (according to inheritance) reciprocal rights in property cultivation; but they do not include contributions to the *fqih*, as each *jma'th* has its own *fiqh*.

000 [114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] [144] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe*, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--*Ghis*, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari *and* Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a *shaikh* during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the *khalifa* or representative of the *qa'id* in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] [184] [648] 140--The office of *jari* or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the *mqaddim*, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a *shaikh*. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own *qa'id*, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the *Thajm 'aith* of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

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142--This organization, as it turned out, was not applied to other tribes; there was no need for it, for the others do not have the problems of segment discontinuity which the Aith Waryaghar have in such abundance.

7 ● [114] 143--This is close, and perhaps it was only prudence or modesty which prevented Blanco from giving the real etymology. Igzinnayen (sing. agzinnai) means "fornicators", and is derived from Arabic zina, "adultery". Their neighbors of the Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth say, in addition, that the Igzinnayen fully live up to their name!

144--This is very true, and it contrasts strangely with the fact that a great many Rifians further north--for all the Rifian tribes except the Igzinnayen are located within the former Spanish Zone of Morocco--speak Spanish. Many, indeed, speak it better than they do Arabic; and if grammatical correctness is often lacking, a considerable fluency of expression and a wide range of vocabulary more than make up for this.

It is probable, furthermore, that as the Igzinnayen are located in the former French Zone, this report of Blanco's is based on contemporary and unpublished French reports rather than on personal fieldwork. The report is dated 1940.

145--The distinction which Blanco makes between Arabic and Rifian speech among the Igzinnayen seems to have little basis in fact, because informants from that tribe have repeatedly said that Rifian speech is the linguistic universal among all their clans; but it is true that a knowledge of Arabic becomes more widespread the further south in the tribal territory that one goes. However, it seems to me that the best linguistic index is what is spoken by the women, rather than by the men--and among the Igzinnayen, one gathers that although most of the men know at least some Arabic (which is seldom the case among the Rifian tribes in the ex-Spanish Zone), the women do not.

[103] 146--Renditions of place (or personal) names generally depend upon how the investigator approaches the matter; and in my own experience, and unless he specifically requests it, what the student will often find himself taking down is the Arabic rather than the Berber version, particularly if he is not familiar with Berber. However, we do not mean to imply by this that Arabic place names are non-existent in the Rif; far from it, and Jbil Hamam is an excellent example. The same applies to tribal and segment names: on the tribal level, for example, the prefix bni is the "official" one, and is employed not only in all administrative reports, but it is also employed with some frequency by the Rifians themselves, although not nearly to the same extent as Berber aith. This is true for certain segments, also: Bni 'Abd Allah, Bni Hadifa, Bni Bu 'Ayyash--but Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Arus and Aith Turirth, to take examples from the Aith Waryaghar (or Bni Waryaghal) only. In other words, even though some segment names do also, other segment names still retain the prefix aith; and it would be most interesting to know what rules, if any, of linguistic change govern this phenomenon. In this same official usage, the prefix aith or asht has entirely disappeared from segment names in the Aith 'Ammarth (or Bni 'Ammart: Ulad S'aid Ikhlif, Ulad l-Hasain,

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels"
exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit.,
619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen"
114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with
the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work,
on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two-
619 segment division, afforded us by the *shaikh* of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is
probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id
616 Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of
114 *liffs*, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the
text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would
help explain their later *liff* affiliations.

The two *liffs* of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the *liff* system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" *liffs*, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar *liff* may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event *liff* affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two *liffs* remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring
619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith
616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar
(into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still held.

Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "nor-
[114] thern" *liff* (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the
"southern" *liff* (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would explain why all three tribes later came to support the *liff* of Si Hmid Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang up on the latter.

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or *ta'lim al-awwal*, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the *fqih* gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or *ta'lim ath-thani*, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the *amhadar* has become a *tarib*; he can theoretically read and write the *Qur'an*, and he also *becomes* versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--*Ma'ruf* is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered *shurfa*.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal *liffs* in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own *liff* of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the *rest* of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The *dharfiqth* of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the *liff* created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[776] [778] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

000 J) Note on the *Rifian Jma'th* (*Noticia sobre la Yemáa*)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. W1/ñ, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 613 1) The *jma'th* is the association of several lineages (*grupos familiares*) or *dharfiqin* toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

2) It is personified in the *iziddjifen*, the headmen of these [671] lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (*qa'ida*), which is often codified into written *qanuns* established during an *agraw* or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to ~~it,~~ all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) *Objectives*: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) *Obligations*: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, *harka*, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

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[594] [114] [1]--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the *jma'th* as a kind of elementary political unit.

621 [801] This autonomy in the questions which wereimposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these 000 latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like 121 this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to 621 habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

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[3]--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

[114] [4]--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

[114] [5]--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such geneaologies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

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627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

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[7] --Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] [8] --This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

[9] --Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

183 such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, 178 strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

621 178 From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the *ahabbas*--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the *tulba*; the inspection into those of the *qudat* (pl. of *qadi*); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

000 In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science *per se* and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these *jma'ath* properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (*sic*) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

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[114] 17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-*habus* situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

[199] 18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

671 the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient
[177] to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the
means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through
coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in
effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum
to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time
while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison
114 between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data
and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes
collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad
ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish
Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material
refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are
Rifian[13].

In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition
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428 of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and
562 therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of
171 giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has
to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact,
671 get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious
428 one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes
562 women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the
house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort
or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family
organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. 114 798 In this work the author exhorts Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work
● [114] not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact,
his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberiza-
[113] tion of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these
177 cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire
177 des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris
175 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit.,
1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades
113 Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el
curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a
synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y
Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de
Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little
175 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to
locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the
village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the
clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on
the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is
[113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda,
Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's
[131] material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

175 [131] taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that 172 their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

000 [113] 5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hesperis, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

[114] 6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

[196] 7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

[784] [682] 7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since Independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

[196] 9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

000 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "soror-
[128] ate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but
his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is genereally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifi-
[113] cally dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from
Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half
671 of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both
428 movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the
171 Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out,
generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is con-
114 cerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any
562 case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a
usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appro-
671 priating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in
428 order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a
second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not in-
171 herit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters
562 (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to
inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name *ishwiyikhen* when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[755] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the *'Ansra*, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A *Hizb*, pl. *hizib*, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called *'aid*: the *'Aid* s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the text refers here. [788] These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must [782] sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An *imam* is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an *amrabidh* of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the *tulba* (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", *Tamuda*, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's
house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the
bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the
groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic
which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event,
[178] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish adminis-
[656] tration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the
last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two
tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of
[114] the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala,
the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first.
As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del
Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator,
it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch be-
[685] longing to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called
in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was
paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at
[648] their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of
plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan adminis-
tration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The
[113] only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is
in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London:
Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

000 [114] 37--The jma'th, contrary to Blanco's statement, had absolutely nothing to do with the selection of cojurors by a man accused of a crime. He selected them himself, among his agnates, and if he did not have enough to fill the full complement, he got the remainder from that neighboring dharfiqth which was most closely related, patrilaterally, to his own.

695 [114] 38--The accused always chose his own cojurors, and here Blanco has made a serious error. An even more serious error, and one which appears to us almost classic among French writers on the subject, is a persistent tendency to confuse cojurors (izudjen or yuxshin n rimin) with witnesses (rshuhudh). The distinction between the two should be obvious to anyone, but apparently it has not been: if there is a witness or witnesses to any crime (and the Shari'a states that there must be either 12 ordinary witnesses or 2 'udul or notaries public, the testimony of one 'adl being worth that of six ordinary men), there is, ipso facto, no oath; for the accusatory testimony of witnesses always (quite naturally) overrides the denials of the accused and his cojurors. Furthermore, though the number of witnesses and the number of cojurors (in a murder case) are exactly the same, there is another paramount difference between these two categories of persons, wholly aside from the fact that the function of the ones is to accuse and that of the others is to deny: witnesses had to come from a different lineage or different lineages from that of the accused, while the cojurors of the latter were his agnates and thus his fellow lineage mates, aithmas, "his brothers", or aith 'azizi, or ibin 'azizithen, "the people or sons of his paternal uncles". The fact that the same number of individuals, twelve, was needed in each case may or may not have been fortuitous; but, in any event, it seems of entirely secondary importance.

A summary recapitulation of collective oaths (thzaddjith or rimin) as practiced among the tribes of the Central Rif will not be out of
[692] place. First of all, if one man accused another of any crime or misdemeanor, and the accused man denied it, they both agreed to go to their cantonal or Friday mosque, or any other mosque named by the plaintiff (izidjith), on the following Friday before the noon prayer so that the accused (izudj or yuxshar n rimin) could take oath. The plaintiff, furthermore, stipulated how many cojurors the accused should bring with him.

It appears that the number of cojurors was almost always either six (the accused himself plus five agnates) or twelve (the accused himself plus eleven agnates), the former amount of men being required in less important matters, such as theft of irrigation water or of livestock, or damage to the accuser's property, and the latter in cases of murder,
[114] as aforementioned. (When Blanco says five and ten, respectively, he is in error as to the exact amount, but correct regarding the proportion and the doubled number in suspected homicides.) Twelve was ordinarily the maximum number of cojurors, and murder the maximum offense necessitating this number, among the members of one tribe; but if an oath involved members of two different tribes, over matters such as large scale land disputes involving tribal boundaries, or intertribal murder cases, the number of cojurors which the accused had to bring was elevated to fifty (the defendant plus forty-nine agnates or fellow clansmen or tribesmen, the latter being far more ready to help out one of their own men in an extra-tribal crisis than in an intra-clan or owen an intra-

695 It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured
[784] himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-
[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him;
[171] unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that
[114] in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian
[181] and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion
[171] bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One
[577] may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans,
[114] but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

000 [114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

[463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. [165] The same goes for their "feasts": they visit saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the
Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria,
[464] prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians
went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia)
[167] to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes
with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates)
[171] is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full
ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He
did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in
682 turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an
696 adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the
territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him
until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as
[613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in
Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen.
However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the
Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his 682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill 696 him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the [782] presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was eaten, the terms of the *ddiyith* were discussed and arrived at; and only after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he 682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on 443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum (which Blanco often confuses with the *ddiyith*), the *rhaqq* or market fine [114] (called *r-insaf* in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the *imgharen* of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in the *suq*.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the *ddiyith*; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum which was prohibitively high), the *imgharen* descended on him in a body and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re- 682 fused to accept the *ddiyith*, which meant permanent exile for the mur- 628 derer. The *imgharen*, however, could not touch his property as long as he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that he refused to flee, refused to pay the *ddiyith* to the dead man's agnates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the *rhaqq* to the *imgharen* could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted, as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circumstances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for 682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely standard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the *qanun* of the Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in *La Ley Rifeña* (p. 47), it is ex- [114] pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants, [024] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the [628] murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted up, and the side with the greater number receives excess *ddiyith* from

681 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from
682 some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders
[628] of the same tribe deny it.)

000 58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco
[682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to
his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only
if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to
it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality
is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the
[838] object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few
regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for
fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter
in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a
recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El
Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International
de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958
[114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that
although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily
complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

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65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since
[648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards,
[656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being
[124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.
● [114] It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassion-
[788] ate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide
[593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). A What Blanco does not say, however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and
[848] the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

684 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the
554 object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person
203 of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more
626 salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

[671] 76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

● [114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

[682] 2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

[628] (114) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).

However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if [177] the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

[602] 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

[114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 the Rifians borrowed a European word, *republik*, to describe the political
619 organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even
642 though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no *makhzin*, only *imgharen* or councilmembers acting in
114 a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that *republik* to a Rifian means what *republic* means to an American or *republique* to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that *they* are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 12--Blanco's comparison of a *jajgu* to a branch of a tree (which, in
619 fact, it actually means) and of *dharfiqth* to the trunk, e.g. a branch
of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians
182 themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in
601 the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the
intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree:
829 trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still
smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees"
[171] is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World,
perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that
Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system
[171] which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the
almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara *liffs* in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara *liffs* at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, *bando*, which is not a bad description. The *liffs* of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two *liffs* within a clan or
within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two *liffs*. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's *liff* and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting *liffs* within clans, each *liff* took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the func-
621 tioning of Rifian *liffs*, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go
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[621] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at
the matter in a slightly different way.

[539] There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves
readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows:
"Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight
among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were
"external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan
against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and
predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the
same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-
clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention
to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are
under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the
former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or
"smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the
Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know
of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and
its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in
Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but
not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the
Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe
(in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the
Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chain--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe
619 participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always
remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in
726 some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral,
though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that
[614] Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two
[728] *liffs* in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental
in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form,
in effect, a third *liff*--those who opted out of war in any case, and
who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of
Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the
clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly
scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well.
[563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety
through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and
000 expected to do.

[114] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility,
and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith
[729] Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words,
Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually
blinded by the *liff* theories of Montagne, who thought that *liff* systems
were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the
full amount of the *rhaqq* levied upon him by the *imgharen*, his agnates
and, if necessary, his *liff*-mates were called in to help him out.

616 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith
'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered
619 in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar,
75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth
[162] feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is
said, that each *liff* had its own market and its own *qa'id*); and the
principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their
[614] *liffs*, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by
the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another
neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar;
while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid
Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian
(in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the
giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the
fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small
to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they
left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller
Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of *liffs*, individual and general, are,
in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent,
intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their *liff*. A woman's allegiance, in the

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last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels
of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels,
and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as
checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco
● (114) does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Mon-
tagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans
(113) Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hespéris, XIII, Paris:
Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war
or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent
it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist
today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the
minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be re-
activated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactiva-
tion would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in
[152] the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his
[628] friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside
it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619 30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of
the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into
616 five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous
114 assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference
between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother
to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully
lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to
Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be
619 said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams
616 khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition in-
614 dicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and
Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu
'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it
were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in
the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith
'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two
clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the
second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian
genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight
regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose
ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

616 to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale,
619 than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing,
however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif,
648 but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and
Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the
● [114] east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of
which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See
[113] also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez,
Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as *Vademecum
de Intervenciones Militares*, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is
in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara *liff*, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, *Vademecum del Territorio del Rif*, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter *ghain*, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the *gaf* (*kaf* with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that *liffs*, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd
Allah had only an *ad hoc liff* arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was
619 directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely,
114 the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in *liff* (again through the transitive principle)

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
tradition may have associated them with the *liff* of the Sanhajans long
● 114 ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian.
Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through
voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating
Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 48--*Ta'rqiba*: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
728 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting
184 its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality
is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud
782 or war are not designated as *ta'rqiba*, but as *ssulh*, while the term
referring to the act of sacrifice itself is *dhaqqarsth*.

000 49--Blanco's so-called "*post-ta'rqiba*" vacuum seems to me in reality to
be the spatial norm in Rifian *liff* distribution; for prior to 'Abd
[175] al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern
and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts,
Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the
possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents
who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the
banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

121 of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

114 In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

124 My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

671 1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

(128) 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none
of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and
829 on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only
609 been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you
speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty
648 years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!"
Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained
648 apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient
the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers
in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts.
In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an
officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to
speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so;
and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan
Arabic properly was small.

000 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may
seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif
[177] with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former
immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas.
The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater
accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer
contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders
[181] are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on
[609] the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been
to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and
this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get
[114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

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[128] 9--Blanco terms this *el pacto interfamiliar*; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, *Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne*, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as *Uddji wu r-haqq* or *yarrza r-haqq* ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the *rhaqq* fine for murder is not paid to the *imgharen*, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--*Haqq* means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, *Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas*.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes [114] greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the *qanun* about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished *Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term *interfamiliar*.

21--The name of this lineage is written *Isaghwen* in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to *Izzugwaghen* ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the lineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

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22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the
[614] village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu
'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no
● [114] record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point
we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith
Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n
Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan
of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen.
It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a
[681] crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-
fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market,
along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for
the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and
one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual
[728] *ziyarth* from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt,
and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to
bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu
[648] 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a *qa'id quyad* (qa'id of
qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian
irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards,
he was *qa'id* of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to
1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities
[115] because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own
recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I
have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of
Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any '*adl* employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a *sharif* or holy man
[792] figures in any given *qanun*, the *talib* who is recording it tends to
list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's
most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the *haqq*-houseburning relationship.

[114] 29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up
this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles
of Algeria; the Rifian term is *r-'adhawth*.

30--*R-rhin*, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real
[426] property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or
[423] greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains
his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

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000 34--Spanish literature refers to any Rifian who, during the "Republik", had done remunerative work for the Spanish administration on Al-Husaima Island as a pensionado de la isla.

35--It appears that here Blanco implicitly recognizes the Rifians' desire to preserve their system of checks, balances and oscillations within the framework of their segmentary lineage system.

36--"Counter-espionage" might be nearer the mark here, for it is up to the members of the jma'th in question to watch over their own property!

37--Blanco refers here to the addenda in the qanun after the two illegible signatures.[A]

[436] 38--The duro hasani, more than any other denomination of coinage, was the Rifian monetary unit during the "Republik".

[114] 39--It seems to us that Blanco tries to infer too much from the order of appearance of the councilmembers' names; and undue emphasis is placed on social protocol as well. These traits are, of course, very Spanish!

[114] 40--Also very Spanish is the labored and rather far-fetched comparison with the urban ayuntamiento.

41--A word or two of explanation (as of 1961) is necessary regarding the Rifian monetary system. First of all, none of these coins have been in use since protectorate times; all of them date back to the "Republik". It will also be made increasingly clear below, in the text, that bigger fines for graver offenses were always expressed in terms of hasani duros. Secondly, in the corresponding peseta equivalents, it must be remembered that the peseta values are those of 1939, when the Spanish peseta was worth a good deal more than it was in 1961. Thirdly, Blanco does not mention the fact that Rifians call a peseta by the name frank, pl. franik, a term borrowed, of course from French franc, but not to be confused with it. Five franik made a duro, the word riyal being foreign to Rifian usage. This has created considerable terminological confusion, particularly since the introduction of Moroccan francs in 1958 and later, in 1961, the new Moroccan dirhams, into the North Zone. As 10 Moroccan francs, more or less, equal 1 Spanish peseta, the Rifians, unwilling to give up their old monetary terminology, call a ten-franc piece frank, a twenty-franc piece dhnain franik (two franks), a fifty-franc piece khamsa franik (five franks), and a one-hundred franc piece or note 'ashra franik (ten franks). And as the new Moroccan dirham is equal to 100 old Moroccan francs, it is also called "ten franks" by the Rifians, although within the next few years it is probable that the term dirham, or ij udirham (one dirham) will become common usage.

[114] 42--It is perhaps neither warlike nor religious in Blanco's interpretation of this qanun; but it is always highly contradictory and indeed erroneous assertions of this kind which seriously weaken the fabric of Blanco's arguments.

43--Hospitality to guests is very important, in the Rifian scale of values, and nobody would deny this; but is it the most important institution of the jma'th???

[A] [See p. 290--Analyst]

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu
'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith
614 Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani'Adhiya rather than Aith
'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.
614 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather
than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are
162 nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population;
and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin
614 (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things:
1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite
616 liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals
671 with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith
'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".
619

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger *jma'th* of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each *liff* is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] [735] 56--In both this *qanun* and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both *qanuns* also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

● [114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the *ddiyith*, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the *rhaqq*, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read *rhaqq* or fine.

62--Again, read *rhaqq* or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the *qanun*), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as *Bani* Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the *qanun*.

65--As indicated, this *qanun* is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[976] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed *Bu Rjila*, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of *baraka* were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The *jillab* is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

● [114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means *aitharba'in* rather than *agraw* in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, *Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--*Ra'is* in Arabic is "headman", from *ras*, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a *Sharif* from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, *The Sultan of the Mountains*, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 79--It seems that Blanco has mixed his references here. The qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah decrees the death penalty for murder in the market if the murderer be apprehended on the spot, and a fine of 2000 duros if he should escape; the qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya decrees a 2000-duro fine for murder in the market, with no mention of a death penalty; while the qanun of the Aith Khattab only decrees a 500-duro fine for market murder, as we have seen.

R [114] 80--It is very probable that women's markets are an old institution in the Rif, but an assumption of antiquity in terms of "thousands of years" seems rather extravagant!

81--This is an implicit acknowledgement of the role of balanced opposition in segmentary societies. See also Lewis, op. cit., 1961.

R [619] 82--Presumbly what is meant here is the ensemble of clans forming the tribe.

83--See R. Montagne, op. cit., 1930, passim.

84--It is not clear here whether Blanco refers to the domination of the imgharen of 'Abd al-Krim, or of the Spaniards.

85--This, in our opinion, is one of the most profound statements Blanco ever committed to print.

S 619 671 86--Blanco calls this tribe the Bni Siddat, but outside the qanun itself, we have given them the benefit of the doubt and have called them the Aith Siddat. They are entirely Berber-speaking (Sinhaja Srir dialect), and are one of eight tribes in the Sinhaja Srir confederacy, the others of which are Aith Khannus, Ktama, Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzut.

S 671 619 614 114 87--This is a shrewd inference on Blanco's part. We do not know if such was the case, but suspect that it was, particularly in view of the centralization of the Sinhaja Srir under the politico-religious leadership of the Shurfa Ikhamlijhen in Targist and elsewhere.

88--As the qanuns on the jma'th level do.

000 89--Here again, Blanco mistakes the ddiyith for the rhaqq.

S 681 614 212 671 173 90--A written law in only the qanuns with which Blanco has presented us here. Qanun documents in the Rif and the North in general are extremely scarce (unlike the Sus); for usually, the substance of the Rifian qanuns is contained not in documents but in the heads of the oldest surviving men; when they die off, all this material will have been forgotten.

91--For ddiyith, read rhaqq, and the same for the rest of this qanun.

000 92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

S 181 167 114 000 93--It is certainly true that the Aith Siddat are an infinitely smaller and vastly poorer tribe than the Aith Waryaghar; but it seems questionable to me to attempt to infer from the mere presence or absence of a given statement in a qanun that they are more zealous in guarding their property.

R [114] 94--As discussed in Der. Cons. Rif., at some length, liff means "alliance". Blanco, however, is guilty of a howling error here, for he transcribes it throughout the text as lift, which in Moroccan Arabic Arabic means "turnip"!

000 the participating lineages are overwhelmingly affiliated with Ajdir and the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. Indeed, through the first four days, the participants are all members of lineages localized in Ajdir and its immediate environs. Although Ajdir itself may be considered a segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, the distinction made in this context between "Ajdir" on the one hand and "Ughir Iyizan" on the other probably referred originally to participants who were from Ajdir "Proper" as opposed to other Aith Ughir Iyizan. Our own notes tend, in fact, to bear this out, as in the Ajdir turn on the first and third days, the U Haddu and W'Alla w Ujdir part-turns are affiliated with the lineage of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; the U Hammu part-turn is affiliated with that of the Aith Zar'a; and the U Mis'aud u Yusif part-turn is of course affiliated with that of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif. In the Ughir Iyizan turn, on the second and fourth days, all the part-turn names in question designate lineages which had land in Ajdir long ago but which no longer exist as separate entities. Their names are today preserved only in connection with distribution of irrigation water, the present recipients of which are all in effect members of the three lineages of Ajdir.

[114] To complete the record on the l-Bzimma ditch, it only need be said here that our data vary slightly with Blanco's regarding the irrigational order of the small lineage branches, e.g.,

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir--U Haddu (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; U Mis'aud u Yusif (Aith Mis'aud u Yusif)
2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--U Yikhrif; U Yihya u Musa
3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir--W 'Alla w Ujdir (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa); U Hammu (Aith Zar'a)
4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan; U Dris
5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir
6th Day (24 hours): Zawith and Tishtin r-B'ai

[114] [614] 134--I'arhuthen may be an error; the lineage in question is probably that of the I'abbuthen, a member lineage of the subclan of the Tigarth of the clan of the Aith 'Ari; while the Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru are a branch of Aith r-'Arbi, also of the subclan of Tigarth. We have been unable to trace the lineage affiliations of the Dharwa 'Abdinnbi.

[614] 135--The fact, which Blanco discusses at length below, of the subclan of Imhauren (clan of the Aith 'Ari), of which the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid are member lineages, doling out water on a staggered nine-day basis to the Aith Bu Dhimmus is rendered all the more remarkable when one realizes that the latter are a branch of the lineage of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, subclan of the Isrihan, in another (and traditionally hostile) clan, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[614] 136--Dhifirasin (literally, "pear trees", sing. dhafirasth) is not the name of a lineage at all, but that of an irrigation ditch. Both the irrigating lineages, however, are of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari: the Aith Mhand u Yihya (of the Plain), though "foreigners" from the Ulad 'Azzam of the Wargha River Sanhaja, are affiliated with the subclan of the Isrihan, while the Im'aruwen (here again there are two groups who are not geographically contiguous, one in Isrihan in the mountains and one in Thafrasth in the Plain--the latter group is under

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[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

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114 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Thanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

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[114]
(614) 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours), 000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

● [114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[621] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[613] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 671 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.[A]

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

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[114] [136] 196--This seems to indicate considerable confusion, both terminological and zoological, for the simple reason that there are no wolves proper in the Rif. A terminological confusion arises because Spanish dictionaries, both Rifian and Arabic, translate Rifian *ushshan* (pl. *ushshannen*) and Arabic *dhi'b* as "lobo, chacal", whereas properly it means only the latter: jackal. By the same token, *uhar* (pl. *uharan*) is a fox (not a jackal, as Blanco indicates); and *thawardha* probably corresponds to *awardhyu* (pl. *iwardhiwen*), listed by Ibañez (op. cit., 1944, p. 439) as synonymous with *uhar*, "fox". We have never heard the word *awardhyu* in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however.

197--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the carcass of a dead animal is used as jackal-bait, and traps are laid around it.

[184] 198--This is in contrast to the situation in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, where division of the game and of the fines incurred are shared equally by all the hunters.

199--We have substituted "system of beliefs" for Blanco's term *supersticiones* as being somewhat more appropriate anthropologically.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

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121 556 433 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of practical considerations and ideological commitments than obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological 121 114 433 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 433 443 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the economy. This condition is due in part to historical and ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and 121 433 642 economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

121 433 128 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 114 The field work upon which this study is based was carried out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] [585] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[844] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[852] [764] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
[114] On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
563 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
574 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
602 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 [584] The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

565 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a
582 solid social class in the Rif because of the large and econom-
792 ically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees
of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists
[556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means.
Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked pro-
pensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a
556
565 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do
582 their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very
loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its
own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry
a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers.
They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence
in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people,
the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to
others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

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[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage
into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function
of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy
between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in
Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than
565 for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pre-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family.
Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any
single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society
is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle.
A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also
be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related
friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater
emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

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582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor
a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong.
(829) It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we
prepared to attend exactly such a union.

584 583 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in (114) (124) Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

584 haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to
583 achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this
point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort
is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable
sum. I knew of no *sdaq* which was less than 500 dirhams
($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000
584 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170)
583 puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of
● 114 our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past
ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta,
which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My
own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a
parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the
[458] Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices
for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern
zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my
notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the
Berbers.

584 During the negotiations a *fqih* is present to write down
212 the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial
583 expense or *sdaq*. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably
the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is
determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of
the next day, the *fqih* draws up a marriage contract. Cash for
the *sdaq* is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion
584 only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,
583

585 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can
574 also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must
571 also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public
431 announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving
574 can become a competitive game in which the guests give increas-
571 ingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to
431 shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which
556 the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat
[114] similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the
community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior
vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member
to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as
a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the
passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but
timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is
slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's
father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or
some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the
seventh day ceremony.

796 785 [574] [432] [431] [794] Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men [782] [014] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and distribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 794 Before turning from religious activities to magical practices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

443 los indígenas, por si mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
● 114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

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Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8
rugs	8	7
pottery	1	1
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0
men's new clothes	13	12
men's used clothes	7	4
women's clothes	x	27
hardware and spices	29	27
barley	8	7
bread	1	2
candy	4	4
window frames	1	1
books	1	1
soft drinks	1	0
trucks of fish	3	1
garlic	a	a
peppers	a	0
almonds	a	0
walnuts	1	0
oranges	0	a
raisins	0	a

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
barbers	11	9
solderers	3	2
shoe repair	9	6
butchers	11	9
food for consumption at market	12	10
medicine	1	0
photography	1	0
dentist	1	0
palm reader	0	1
jewelry	0	1
rubber boots	0	1
belts	0	1
magician	0	1
turnips	0	a
eggs	a	a
melons	1	0
grapes	a	0
tomatoes	a	0
potatoes	a	a
onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions. [114]

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of
spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies.
These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 (181) and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place
is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisi-
tion of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources"
(1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unim-
portant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way
of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing
resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-
market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from
our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the
use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in
markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive
from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest,
respectively, appearing only as different instances of price
according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif
the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most pre-
dominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

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[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

121 perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they
128 do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.
The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be
121 roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends.
311 In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal
agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of
wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable
plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been
active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of
disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

104 For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages
or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for
"mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it
is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But
most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*,
and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so
that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic
word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for
Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French
and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

101 The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May,
114 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my
122 gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans
114 who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should
be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and
Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles
128 Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification
of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with
(129) David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from
1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I
am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially
for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature
on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from
(126) study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and
house-types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs
and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

RELICT SPECIES

137 The vegetation of northern Morocco has not only been modified by man, but has also undergone progressive natural change. In the varied Moroccan flora, European, Asiatic, and tropical elements are found along with species endemic to the Mediterranean region. During the Pleistocene, the southward movement of a colder and wetter climate brought corresponding southward migrations of European and Euro-Siberian plants. Europe and Barbary were no longer linked by land bridges, but seeds could easily blow or float across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. Relicts of these invasions are found today in the mountains of northern Morocco in growths of fir (*Abies pinsapo, A. tazaotana*) and deciduous oaks (*Quercus pyrenaica, Q. faginea*) that seem strangely out of place in northern Africa.[11] Other Pleistocene relicts include birch (*Betula alba*), two species of maple (*Acer monspessulanum, A. Opalus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and the mountain ash, or service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*).[12]

ENIGMA OF THE OLEASTER

The olive tree (*Olea europaea*) has long been regarded as a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape. Since classical antiquity it has been recognized that not all olive trees are alike, that some grow without cultivation and produce small and bitter fruit. The "wild" olive, or oleaster, was long thought to be an endemic element of the Mediterranean flora and the ancestor of the cultivated tree. Victor [114] Hehn may have been the first to challenge this view on historical and philological grounds.[13] Today this problem is the subject of vigorous debate. Most authorities consider the oleaster to be a natural element of maqui, but some scholars, including August Chevalier, describe it as a "subspontaneous race," escaped from cultivation in ancient time.[14]

[245] In contrast to the common cultivated olive, the oleaster has four-angled thorny branches, broader leaves, and smaller fruit. Moreover, the oleaster, obviously, grows without cultivation or apparent care. None of these points proves that it is an ancestral wild race. As De Candolle remarks, "In a woody species which lives so long and shoots again from the same stock when cut off by accident, it is impossible to know the origin of the individuals observed."[15] To make matters worse, [245] it is a common practice in northern Morocco to graft scions of the cultivated olive to oleaster stock.[16]

The oleaster is best developed in the area covered by palmetto scrub, where the winters are too cold and wet for the cultivated race, but a few oleasters are seen

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113 137 [11] Changes of climate also have been invoked to explain the presence of wild olive (*Olea Laperrini*) and cypress (*Cupressus Dupreziana*) in the mountains of the central Sahara. L. Lavauden, "Les Forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[12] The adaptation of "Nordic" species to the Mediterranean environment is considered by Andrea Giacobbe in "Les effets écologiques de l'aridité du climat sur la végétation méditerranéenne: héliophilie et configuration morphologique des forêts," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, V, "Plant Ecology" (Proceedings of the Montpellier Symposium) (Paris, 1955), pp. 64–66.

[13] Victor Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from Their First Home* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), pp. 88–101.

[14] Aug. Chevalier, "L'origine de l'olivier cultivé et ses variations," *Revue de Botanique Apliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 28 (1948), 1–25.

[15] Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: Appleton, 1885), p. 280.

[16] Pliny (*Natural History*, XVII, 30) thought that this practice was limited to Africa.

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

172 174 FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

000 The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

172 132 A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

174 132 114 182 It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

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[113] [1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

174 132 114 182 favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

THE BERBERS

101 The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

142 141 The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples [144] of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

101 114 [648] The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

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(113) [3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

(113) [4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

(113) [5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

(113) [6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

101 thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse
114 to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[6] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

197 Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[7] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[8] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, [177] the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[9]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[10] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[11] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[12] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system
[212] of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[13]

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[113] [6] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[7] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[113] [8] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[113] [9] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[113] [10] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[113] [11] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[12] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[13] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

372 137 311 Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[44] There are many kinds of pyrophytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

372 114 137 311 This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has much to recommend it,[45] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

372 137 311 Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continuous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and therophytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[46] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped.[47]

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[48] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[49]

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[44] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée*, *passim*, cited in note 32.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

(113) [46] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29.

[47] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées," *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[48] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence."

(113) [49] On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford:

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Shluh
R.f Bk 3

M
themselves appointed qā'id. With imperial sanction and modern 621
rifles, they conquered tribe after tribe, dissolving the assemblies and 619
setting out khalīfas and shaikhs in the neighboring valleys to carry 631
out their orders. 642

These qā'ids settled down into three houses, those of the Glawi, Gundafi, and Mtugi, reading from east to west along the Atlas. (The family of the Glawi, now in its third generation, is headed by the powerful el Ḥajj Thāmi [Tihāmi], also pasha of Marrakesh.) These three absolute autocrats have so crushed the mountaineers under their control that only the oldest remember the earlier system of government. Each of them has a huge fortress, strategically located near the crest of the divide, as for example that of Telwet, which is the Glawi's stronghold. Inside high walls are a number of castles, with an inner court. Great granaries hold the tribute brought by the farmers; dungeons hide the starving bodies of bandits captured on the roads. Mountain Jews and Negro retainers throng the courtyard, and privileged visitors (I was one in 1927) eat in the guest chambers.

Delegating power to the three great qā'ids is one way of ruling without effort. These men, controlling private armies, could make or break sultans, and they have also figured in the politics of the French Protectorate in a fashion similar to the fabulously wealthy princes of India under the British. Robert Montagne speaks with feeling when he states that Native Affairs officers were able to take over the direction of the small confederation of Ida U Tanan before the Mtugi could swallow it.

Ruling by delegating power to a local autocrat is something new in Morocco, but farther east it is an old system, which we have already seen in operation in western Asia; this is the way both Romans and Sassanian Persians controlled the Nabatean Arabs. This is also the way that the shahs of Iran (when they have been strong enough) have dealt with the Bakhtiari and other tribesmen. The Iranian tribesmen, however, have a reason for unity, the need for order in their annual migration. The Shluh need no more unity than they had in 1860, at the price they have paid for it. What the French think of this system is not easy to discover.

R
By now the reader is ready to join me in entering the Rif, as I first [114]
did in 1926, the year of 'Abd el-Krim's surrender. On the way into 278
the tribe of Gzennaya we noticed that our dog was growing ill. He 813

/238 cont./

121 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of
631 political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live,
in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the
Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqom, to the point that the tribal
fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival
and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the
mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where
121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill,
361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units,
621 such as the hamlet, the "moudaᶜ," even the khoms, have limits
632 difficult to discern. The "moudaᶜ" is still extant, thanks to the 3
[619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of
households, and in trying to establish the list of the households
that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds
in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At
times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a
sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three
kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond
621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we
613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by
"tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 It seems that it might be permissible to give
613 the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni
614 Ouriaghel. This is a familial gr[illegible]ore nu-
•114 merous and more lasting than the [illegible]s" of the
Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of po-
[171] litical unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according
to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of
families that constitute a jemaᶜa in the North

/239 cont./

621 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisa-
613 tion sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and
614 Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11.
•114 Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse
171 origins there. On the other hand, the bond of
blood exists among the households of the same
Riffian jemaᶜa.

621 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and be-
613 comes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq"
heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and
respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers"
621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they
628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring
613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of exter-
mination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the
726 vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of
the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite
country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence
of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each
peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, fol-
lowing the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an
amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of
the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to
blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the
following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in
regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for
vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women
and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having
sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a
murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were
carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if
the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000